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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1985



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POLITBURO'S HAGER HITS LITERATURE IGNORING COMMITMENT TO SOCIALISM

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 22, Nov 81 pp 14-16

['Background' report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Policy Speech by SED Central Committee Secretary Kurt Hager on SED Cultural Policy." For an East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article on a related issue see translation published under the heading, "Sharp Criticism of Film Industry, Television Voiced," in JPRS 79885, 19 Jan 82, No 1962 of this series, pp 10-13. A t. "lation of an East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT critique is available under the heading, "Dramatists Urged Not To Neglect Sociopolitical Issues," in JPRS 80054, 8 Feb 82, No 1973 of this series, pp 1-4]

[Text] The "need to do everything for the preservation of peace" and "the determination to continue the proven course of industrial growth" were--according to SED Politburo member Kurt Hager--the determinative themes of the 10th SED Party Congress, themes which "have immediate relevance to culture and art in the GDR." This thesis is the point of departure of a fundamental review by the responsible central committee secretary for culture and science released in the most recent issue of the journal SINN UND FORM [MEANING AND FORM] published by the GDR Academy of Arts. In his article Hager was also critical of the creators of art and culture who labor to "propagate antisocialist ideologies."

According to Hager's view there can be "no cultural progress without an assured and permanent peace" and "realization of the economic strategy approved by the 10th party congress would create the prerequisites for further improvement in the material and cultural living conditions of the people of the GDR."

On these premises "socialist culture and art are not (for the SED) subordinate or secondary matters," but "weapons in the fight for the continued evolution of socialism" which must be offensively deployed because "enemy propaganda" has in the past been primarily directed against the cultural policy of the SED.

With regard to the task of helping to preserve peace, Hager emphasized that "in the movement for peace, against the Brussels missile resolution, men of varying philosophies and from all social strata, including cultural workers, have been participants." He declared that it was to be wished "that the voice of writers and artists shall sound even more loudly in the struggle for peace." Hager:

"A poem or a song, a picture or a play, a caricature or a placard--no matter what the particular form may be--every artistic contribution is in this present time of importance which supports the fight for the preservation of peace in opposition to the dangerous plans of NATO. Important, too, is solidarity with the creators of culture and other adherents of the peace movement who speak out in the FRG and in the other NATO countries against stationing American medium-range missiles and speak out in favor of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union."

In addition to activities "toward the strengthening of peace," artists and creators of culture are called upon to work "for a rich intellectual life, for raising the level of cultural life, for the satisfaction of cultural needs and for a meaningful and beautiful existence for the citizens of our republic."

Practical Examples

Art, the writer declares, can have "great effects upon many men," especially "because it poses its questions from the human point of view, because the center of its interest is man, his inner world, his moral condition, his capacity to reflect upon himself."

Following these observations, Hager mentioned some examples taken from the actual practice of cultural work which had contributed "to the full unfolding of the intellectual needs of the workers." In the same way an analysis of the effectiveness of the DEFA cinema plays have shown "why a number of the more recent films have received a great response." Hager:

"In addition to the 'intrinsic' interest of the piece there was special effectiveness in the possibility of identification with and emotional participation with the film protagonists in their conflicts and not least of all the full satisfaction of needs for entertainment."

In "numerous works of literature and art in recent years" the "drive of the individual toward self-realization is united with the desire to be useful to society and to be used by society." The "question of coresponsibility in evolving the developed socialist society" has become in many works of art according to Hager "a central moral-ethical category."

Hager declares that the SED considers this "sharper turn in the direction of moral-ethical questions in our society to be not a return to privateness and also not as provincialism." Rather, he says, "questioning of the meaning of life, of the individual's possibilities for development and of the creation of social conditions worthy of men represents a central field of the contemporary intellectual conflict between socialism and imperialism."

For "Party Participation on the Part of the Socialist Artist"

Hager pleaded for "party participation on the part of the socialist writer and artist"; he considered this to be "not a matter of the will" but rather a matter "also of acquiring insights, of carefully studying the theoretical foundations and of sharpening them and carrying them further in the process of socialist rebuilding."

"Socialist art," he declared, cannot and ought not "to dispense with the representation of contradictions and conflicts. It cannot pass by deficiencies, inadequacies, difficulties, residues of the past, the effects of capitalist conventions and ways of thinking."

"Just as it would be wrong to engage in whitewashing so, too, it would also be wrong to consider criticism to be the exclusive, single and decisive element in socialist literature and art."

According to Hager there are "two sorts of critical activity": a "constructive criticism which directs itself against every hindrance to our further progress and which helps to establish the New"; the other sort of criticism is "a negativistic criticism which exercises destructive effects." This sort of criticism, he declares, is "directed against the foundations of socialism and the political power of the working class. In every situation it is to some degree finding a hair in the soup, stops at nothing and contributes to discrediting socialism's magnificent work of construction, to discrediting the party which is the motor of this construction and to discrediting the socialist state of workers and peasants." Hager:

"Some writers and artists have in the past interpreted the breadth and multifariousness of art in socialism in this negative sense. That had to lead to conflicts. Attacks upon the party of the working class, upon the socialist state, upon real socialism in the last analysis put into question everything which has been achieved in decades of hard constructive work since liberation from Hitler fascism. Whenever an artist abandons the position of partisanship with socialism and of solidarity with working people and turns against real socialism then this becomes a political question which we must dispute politically."

"Migrants Between the Two Worlds"

Freedom "for the propagation of antisocialist ideologies would in the end be a threat to the existence" of the state and therefore, according to Hager, there could be "no platform for such ideologies in art and culture either." In the "sharpening political and ideological contest between socialism and imperialism, everyone is put to a test which determines whether he has understood the character of our epoch."

In this connection Hager criticized those artists who have left the GDR. The fact that "some have moved over into the camp of the enemy, whether from hostility to socialism or from personal ambition or from other motives," is according to Hager "nothing new in the history of the class struggle." Besides these, he observes that there are "migrants between the two worlds of socialism and imperialism who usually justify their behavior by saying that they are apolitical and are concerned only with their artistic interests." Of these artists Hager says:

"With rare exceptions we have never heard that they have taken steps to prevent the political misuse of their behavior by the western mass media or that they had opposed propaganda attacks against the GDR."

8008
CSO: 2300/145

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIVIL DEFENSE CHIEF ON PAST DEVELOPMENTS, FUTURE TASKS

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 13 Nov 81) pp 2-3

[Lead article by Lt Gen F. Peter, commander, GDR Civil Defense: "With New Initiatives to Implement the Resolutions of the 10th Party Congress for the 25th Anniversary of Civil Defense"]

[Text] As the working people in all domains of our socialist society, so also the associates and volunteer helpers of our Civil Defense undertook great efforts in making their specific contribution to strengthening our republic in the year of the 10th party congress.

Through a mass initiative in socialist competition, unprecedented in the history of civil defense, results were achieved that conform worthily with our people's efforts toward implementing our party resolutions.

The Citizens' Active Civil Defense Involvement Has Increased

The results achieved are expressed in the greater readiness of the citizens in our country to get actively involved in civil defense, in the dedication of hundreds of thousands to taking part in training measures and exercises.

As an example one may refer to the formation of Comrade Gabriele Teichert of Leipzig, which in an exemplary fashion met its competition initiative commitment for the 1980/81 training year, achieved excellent training results, and is providing other operational units with its valuable experiences. One reason for giving special recognition to these achievements is that 75 percent of this collective is made up of women.

In bezirks hard hit by strong rains, these formations for disaster control and other emergencies have met their tests well while closely collaborating with units in public health, the German Red Cross, fire protection, energy supply and other units, in providing protection from floods and dealing with the consequences of floods.

Medical aid units successfully showed what they could do during a central performance comparison in our capital Berlin.

That is why it was perfectly correct for us to focus on improving our operational readiness when we prepared the platform for the 1981/82 training year.

The commitments assumed bear witness to the firm resolve of the civil defense collectives to increase their capacity purposefully and thereby make a contribution to strengthening our national defense.

The Class Mission Assigned Us by the 10th SED Congress Places Us in Position

The year ahead is devoted directly to the preparations for the 25th civil defense anniversary. In it we must purposefully generalize the many fine experiences in protecting the population and the economy and warding off disasters, so as to accomplish another measurable boost in our operational readiness.

It calls for illuminating persuasively, in conformity with the social development in the GDR, the political-ideological issues behind civil defense, in order to recruit more citizens, above all women and girls, for active participation in leadership organs and operational units or as health orderlies. Women function as well in staff, communications, reconnaissance, security and supply units as in recovery and medical aid units. That is clearly demonstrated by the experiences in the most advanced kreises in our republic in this field. For solving family problems, however, support must be provided by the state managers.

Many enterprises and facilities use basic training in civil defense to provide applicable knowledge in self-help and mutual aid and develop the proper behavior patterns for critical situations. Residential area commissions of the National Front also offer valuable initiatives for protecting people in residential areas. Efforts in many educational facilities in the economy and in colleges and technical schools at integrating occupation-specific protection problems within training are remarkable.

What can be seen ever more prominently in civil defense exercises is the endeavor to exercise total control over the managerial processes in preventive protection and aid.

Operational units are competing for the distinction of the best civil defense collective. The associates are emulating those units that received recognition in recent years by civil defense awards and banners and honorific titles of antifascist resistance fighters.

Among the models also is the Berlin unit of Comrade Schloesser, which made a name for itself by its solid skill in a recent operational exercise and got the civil defense medal of merit in gold for it.

To cope with the many tasks in the new training year, we must continue with our anticipatory organizational inclusion of protective tasks in the state management activities of the mayors, enterprise managers and cooperative chairmen. Their management organs, in their new composition, ought to meet the analytical and plan tasks required for it at high qualities. This they will still be better able to handle by means of the scheduled training measures at civil defense school facilities.

Vast advances have been made in public training, the training and advanced training of members of the operations units, and the further qualifications acquired by competent functionaries of government, society and the economy for meeting their civil defense tasks--especially in critical situations.

In enterprises and facilities, at the polytechnical secondary schools, vocational schools, colleges and technical schools, at the Civil Defense Institute and all its schools--there are praiseworthy initiatives for improving the quality of training and advanced training everywhere.

The parties and mass organizations affiliated with the SED and the National Front of the GDR, especially the FDGB, the DFD and the FDJ, deserve a high appreciation for their successful political efforts in support of civil defense.

Also the Ninth German Red Cross Congress came up with a positive balance-sheet on the quality of medical training and the operational readiness of medical units.

From all these results and many other initiatives toward perfecting the protection of the population and of the economy we can conclude with every good reason: We have made good headway in the year of the 10th party congress.

Reliable Protection of Socialism--Indispensable Prerequisite for the Preservation of Peace

Under working class party leadership, civil defense was further consolidated as an inseparable element of socialism national defense, and the protection of life and property was further improved.

The associates of the civil defense staffs, facilities and formations combine their analyses of the 10th party congress documents with placing higher demands and objectives on themselves.

They properly consider that in view of the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation due to the most aggressive imperialist circles the protection of socialism must become still more reliable and certain. We note with apprehension the imperiling of peace stemming from the confrontation course of the U.S. Government and NATO. The civil defense associates and volunteer helpers endorse without reservation the words of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the 10th party congress: "We must manage to curb NATO's confrontation policy and frustrate its designs."* They know well enough that the reliable protection of socialism and its achievements, this humanistic concern of socialist society, is crucially prerequisite to safeguarding peace. That is why they passionately commit themselves to the protection of life and of the material and cultural values in our socialist state and strengthen the operational readiness of our civil defense.

The demands placed on all our socialist national defense, and thus also on our civil defense, have no doubt considerably risen in view of NATO's military build-up, the Brussels missile resolution and the production of the neutron weapon decided on by the Reagan Administration.

*"Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, p 26.

Fulfilling the criteria issued by the 10th SED Congress in civil defense calls for vision, circumspection, creativity and firm resolve by all civil defense associates and volunteer affiliates.

Starting the New Training Year with a Splash Will Determine the Pace of the 1980's

Starting the new training year full of dash will largely determine the outcome of our work for a long period because this essentially determines the pace of civil defense in the 1980's.

Executive organs and operational units are striving for model accomplishments in worthily getting set for the 25th civil defense anniversary. It should be a high obligation on the occasion of this our day of honor for every civil defense collective, state organ, enterprise and school facility to account for special initiatives and activities toward improving the protection of the population and of the economy.

We therefore fully and completely support those who, emulating the competition initiator, a medical aid unit in Frankfurt/Oder, aim at achieving maximum operational readiness, ensuring high-grade training, further consolidating discipline and order, carefully using, maintaining and servicing the equipment and devices entrusted to them and thus acquiring, or successfully defending, the title of "best civil defense collective." Under proven working class party leadership such an atmosphere offers the certainty that we shall be able to cope with the extensive and ambitious tasks of the 1980's.

The concerted efforts between the competent state and economic functionaries and the civil defense staffs, the activities of the social forces and organizations, the commitments by hundreds of thousands of citizens in our country within the operational units, and the constantly growing number of women, men and youths who actively support our civil defense measures provide us with the optimism and strength for solving these tasks which are as great as they are beautiful.

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ROLE, QUALITY, ATTITUDES OF CURRENT OFFICER CADETS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 29 Nov 81 pp 2, 3, 6, 7

[Text] "I am in a school which is called 'higher,' but I am not a student," bitterly complains a young man in a military uniform. "To be more precise, I am not studying, only learning--from morning till night. I am learning everything because here every course is equally important. Every teacher thinks his subject is most important, and consequently requirements are high. There is no comparison between us and civilian students. They have freedom."

Had I heard this only once, there would have been no problem. But over the past several years, I have heard such statements in various military academies often enough to be able to deal with them calmly and reasonably.

What is the difference between "studying" and "learning?" A student in a civilian college reportedly can pick and skip: he goes to one lecture and skips another. But he must complete all his coursework. In other words, he must learn. When? In a civilian college, no one cares when.

This sums up the academic freedom of civilian students. What about other aspects of this freedom?

A civilian student may spend a night away from his dormitory, but no one will ask him where he was. If he lives at home, his family will. Besides, his family pays for his college education no matter whether he lives at home or in a dorm. Pants, shoes, a winter coat--these are rather trivial things, but it is hard to finish college without them. If one's family is not very well-off, a student must wash windows or sandpaper parquet floors on assignments from the Manius or some other student work co-op. Everybody knows that one cannot live on a scholarship alone.

Outside this everyday routine there is la dolce vita of student discsos: Hybrydy, Stodola, and Riviera-Renont. Girls, fun, and play, while in a military academy there are reveilles, night calls, and daily discipline.

And here we are: a clash of exaggerated stories of the la dolce vita and the everyday routine, resulting in the bruised ego of a 20-year-old.

There is one more thing. No one calls young men in military academies students. There is an old and beautiful name for them: officer cadets.

"Officer Cadets" Means an Obligation

Someone may say: "This is a lot of hot air. People go to military academies simply to learn a trade--like everywhere else."

To be sure. After prolonged discussions whether the military profession is a vocation or an occupation, the latter, reasonable approach has won. But it is a peculiar occupation. The national defense is the most important duty of every citizen, yet one has to know how to go about it when a need arises. It takes specialists to coordinate people and actions. These specialists must be trained so they can act in a prudent, sensible, and informed way under the most difficult conditions--often meaning life or death, although let us hope that this will not occur.

It is obvious that these specialists must first go through training. There is no other alternative. There are no easy ways in their profession. An ignoramus and dilettante will not only quickly perish himself, but also cause incalculable losses. So far, I have been cool and matter-of-fact.

There is also another aspect of the problem. The soldier and the military uniform have been valued and respected throughout Polish history. Besides, soldiers have always come from among our loved ones: grandfather, father, or brother. We know from our history that a generation which did not take up arms was rare, and it was the young who were the first to go out and fight. Lt Piotr Wysocki was 33 years old when, on 29 November 1830, he led a handful of his younger colleagues from the School for Infantry Officer Cadets out into the streets of Warsaw, to the Arsenal, and against the whole czarist regime. He did that against the will of many people in high and comfortable government positions.

Wysocki's officer cadets became a symbol of youthful faith in struggle for independence, and their followers have always been worthy of them. Should I list them? What battles, campaigns, and wars did they fight? It is not necessary. Unfortunately, the Poles have had more than their share of fighting.

Here is another clash. Wysocki's heroism has earned him a high place on the pedestal of national symbols, but in 1981 an officer cadet is concerned that he has neither a student status nor any liberties. These are extremes, of course, but it would be worthwhile to find out.

What Are Officer Cadets Really Like Now?

"It is true that we are now at a demographic ebb," says assistant commander of the Naval Academy, Commodore Stanislaw Krzysztofek, Ph.D. "But it is also true that the military profession has become somewhat less appealing in relation to other professions. Young people think the military career is more burdensome because an officer is always at someone's disposal, and his personal freedom is somewhat limited, which is not compensated by higher wages. Our academy has not been affected much, but in 1981 the number of applicants for one opening was slightly lower than in 1980: 2.8 applicants for one opening."

The decimal fraction is merely an indication how thoroughly the problem is viewed here. The problem is real: are young people no longer attracted to the sea?

"It is not exactly so," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "We have enough applicants to fill our annual quotas. But the problem is buried elsewhere: in the poor high-school education of our applicants. We have noticed a very considerable decline in their proficiency in the sciences: mathematics and physics which are crucial in our academy's program. The situation is slightly better among high-school graduates, but graduates of vocational schools--who are very useful in our academy--have considerable loop-holes in their knowledge of mathematics and physics since they took them only for three years in school. Foreign language proficiency is very poor. An applicant may have an A on his high-school diploma, but he cannot say a sentence or two in English or Russian. Finally, there are health problems. Why is it that our grade and high schools graduate so many young people with eyesight, hearing, and back problems?"

These statements are a severe criticism of our educational system. During entrance exams to the Naval Academy, those numerous weaknesses become exposed as the applicants and, in a sense, their former teachers are being tested. However, the teachers are more lucky for it is not they who will be refused admission to the academy.

A rather blunt question arises: is it that the academy simply gets poorer students, or that perhaps the academy's requirements are set too high?

"We will never lower our requirements," replies Commodore Krzysztofek. "There is no doubt that. They are indeed high but they cannot be any different, and we are frank about them. During the applicants' first day at the academy, at an orientation meeting before the entrance exams, we lay it straight to them. There is a meeting with the school's commanding officers, and we talk about the strain of military service and about the courses which, we agree, are more difficult than in some engineering programs; we simply have more subjects to cover because of the nature of the service in the Navy. We then visit battleships. After such a dose of bare facts, about 10 percent of the applicants withdraw from the competition."

I remembered a second-year officer cadet in a military academy who took out a colorful catalog of the school and said to me: "See, this is how I was lured and cheated." I agreed with him that the discrepancy between the catalog promises and the school reality was considerable.

"We never do anything like that," says Commodore Krzysztofek and hands me a fact-packed information sheet about entrance exams and course requirements. "Why should we lie? Why should we go through the trouble of discharging an officer cadet during his first or second year? Why should he waste his time and ours?"

I agree. This leads me to a simple conclusion:

Only the Best Get Into the Naval Academy

Meaning the best of all applicants. But how can one determine whether an applicant's enthusiasm is not a passing fancy? How can one predict if a smart and healthy applicant, who did well on the entrance exams and was not intimidated by the dose of bare facts, is not going to collapse, suddenly when he finds reality incongruous with his expectations nourished, for example, by Jack London's books or other South Seas stories?

"We have our ways," says Commodore Krzysztofek. "We can determine one's motivation. We have a special research team, headed by Commodore Zdzislaw Frankowicz, Ph.D., which works on improving a system that allows to develop certain personality traits in contemporary naval officers. Proper motivation and selection are the key, and we can determine them during the entrance exams owing to their special methodology."

Knowledge is power. But how is it possible that, despite such a careful scrutiny of motivation, some people drop off while in school?

"There are several reasons," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "Most frequently academic failure is caused by loop-holes in high-school education. Next come health reasons, for example, hidden problems of the cardiovascular system which now become pronounced or aggravated. There are also disciplinary discharges, but those are very rare. Overall, approximately 70 percent of accepted applicants reach graduation, which is quite impressive."

Very good. But we still do not know who the average contemporary naval officer cadet really is.

"Social background of the applicants who were admitted in 1981 is as follows," explains Commodore Krzysztofek. "51 percent are sons of workers and farmers (farmers' sons make up 8 percent), while 23 percent are from the intelligentsia (sons of career officers make up approximately 5 percent)."

This is not what I want. But the idea of measuring social background in percentages dies hard, which is rather odd in a country where socialism has been in existence for 37 years. What is the significance of the fact that the father of an officer cadet named X is an engineer? After all, the father was probably a son of a worker or farmer.

Let us leave aside such considerations and put together a composite picture of an officer cadet in the Naval Academy in 1981: healthy; his mental and physical qualities fit the Navy standards; at least a B student in high school; and strongly motivated (I want to be a Navy officer!), which has been determined by scientific methods. This is an initial investment followed by basic training, including a training voyage; increasingly difficult ship training twice a year in the four-year-program; the final exam and a defense of a Master's thesis. It is only then, with two bars embroidered on his sleeves and the title of Sub-Lieutenant Engineer before his name, that he will be sent to a specific ship.

As Commodore Stanislaw Krzysztofek, Ph.D., said, 70 out of 100 officer cadets will graduate. It is time...

To Confront the Composite Picture with Reality

I have met future naval officers after they passed their entrance exams and were admitted to basic training. I must confess that I was tendentious when I selected the most typical and the least typical officer cadets in the Naval Academy.

Officer Cadet Marek Sikorski was born in 1961 in Podzamcze Checinskie near Kielce. He graduated from a vocational school for agricultural mechanics. He wants to be a political officer in the Navy. Why?

"In school I was active in the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and I found a great deal of satisfaction in that work. I like to work with people, to organize, to do volunteer work."

What is his idea of the responsibilities of a naval political officer? What does he know about that aspect of the service in the Navy?

It turns out that he knows very little. Perhaps he cannot simply express himself for he uses such phrases as "to mold people." I understand he means to influence people in the proper way and push them in the right direction, but his statement carries a hint of the familiar brainwashing. Why, as a mechanic, does he not major, for example, in electromechanical engineering at the Naval Academy?

Let us leave it at that. This is truly a difficult problem for a twenty-year-old to decide right now what he wants to do in the future. Let us hope that he will not be disappointed.

Officer Cadet Romak Jakimiak is a big, square-shouldered and muscular man. He was born in 1958, so he is three years older than Sikorski. He surely must know what he wants. He does indeed. "I have decided to be a ship engineer."

His biography is quite colorful. He graduated from a mining machine building and repair school in Piotrkow Trybunalski where he then worked in a mining machine building factory in Pionta. As an electrical technician he earned 9,000 zlotys a month. For 3 years he was also on soccer team in a first-league GKS [Miners Athletic Club] Piotrkow.

His association with the club helps explain his high earnings, but it also obscures the problem at hand. We know what people say about athletes: *la dolce vita!* Training, travels, and games on the one hand, and a paid job somewhere else on the other, but all you have to do is to pick up your paycheck on the first of each month. So why did he give up all that?

"I simply want to be somebody. Sport is all right for a while, but then you end up being too old to play and without skills to have a job. Why the Navy? My brother is an officer in the Navy, but it is not because of him. I have decided for myself. The funny thing is that in a family photo album I have recently found a picture of my grandfather who was a seaman--either a boatswain or a boatswain's mate--in the 1920s."

Cadet Officer Waldemar Tomaszewski was born in 1958 in Lublin. Since 1957, his father has been in the reserves. In 1978, Tomaszewski graduated from a Lublin high school and was admitted to the Naval Academy. But something does not fit here.

"Everything fits," laughs Tomaszewski. He is slender, calm, and composed. "Everything fits. I started here 3 years ago, but I flunked math in the first year. I had to quit. To cheer me up, I was sent to a communications school in Zgierz. I spent 5 months there, but it was not my cup of tea. Then I was drafted to a communications unit. When I was discharged in 1980, I once again applied to the Naval Academy, but just before the entrance exams I had an appendectomy. So it was only in the spring 1981 that I was finally admitted. I passed the entrance exams without a problem, and I am now in the officers program."

His friends are already completing their third year, and today they are coming back from the Mediterranean on the ship Gryf.

I went to see their return. Their families and girlfriends were on the wharf with flowers, while the officer cadets lined up along the ship's sides, sun-burnt after 25 days of rigorous sea training. They sailed through the Baltic, the Sunds, the English Channel, Bay of Biscay, Gibraltar, and, finally, the blue Mediterranean. I talked with the ship commander, Commodore Sub-Lieutenant Engineer Zdzislaw Zmuda. He told me about nine degree winds (on the Beaufort scale) in the Bay of Biscay. He also told me how well the officer cadets did and what grades they have earned.

During our conversation, I was thinking of Waldemar Tomaszewski. He could have participated in that voyage, but he could have also dumped everything. And yet he came back and started from scratch, while his friends are only a year away from graduation. What for? I leave this up to the readers to decide.

There will be no conclusion, for it would make no sense here, just as it makes no sense to search for the typical officer cadet. It is an absolutely individual decision whether one becomes an officer cadet or not. I have selected the Naval Academy rather than another military school for two reasons. First, I feel attracted to the sea. Second, over the decades, many outstanding people have graduated from this school or its direct antecedent, the Naval Officer Cadets Academy in Torun before World War II. Those people are easy to find in a history textbook. After the war, the academy's achievements may be measured by the fact that the present commander of the Navy is an academy alumnus, while another graduate, a rear-admiral, returned to the academy as its commander.

Once they also were officer cadets.

9852
CSO: 2600/245

NEW KATOWICE GOVERNOR, MAJ GEN ROMAN PASZKOWSKI, DISCUSSES ROLE, DUTIES

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8-10 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Maj Gen (Pilot) Roman Paszkowski, Katowice governor, by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Maria Kujawa-Szymonowicz: "Our Military As the Guarantor in Filling Up the Trenches Dividing Poles and Consolidating the Nation--The Most Important Tasks for Today: To Do Everything to Assure Polish Society of the Most Convenient Living and Working Conditions and to Create an Atmosphere of Uninterrupted Production"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, you have been governor of Katowice for almost a month now. Surely that is too short a time for you to have analyzed all the problems of the voivodship and its residents very thoroughly.

[Answer] It is enough time for me to have looked over the economy.

[Question] What, then, are your initial impressions and observations?

[Answer] In accepting the office of governor of Katowice, I realized fully the importance and significance of the Slansk-Zaglebie region for Poland's economy, and I also was and am aware of the scale of problems requiring solutions here. I took office here following the tragic events in the "Wujek" mine. The tense situation in the "Ziemowit" and "Piast" mines continued to prevail, and disturbances continued in the "Katowice" foundry. From the first days, we in the leadership tried to do everything to restore calm as quickly as possible, without the use of force. We were counting on people's judgment; on time, which calms overly hot heads; and on the collaboration and support of the community. Well, that strategy turned out to be correct.

[Question] At the same time, many decisions concerning the daily life of the residents had to be made....

[Answer] My duty was and is to do everything to assure the community of the most favorable living and working conditions possible in the present situation and to create an atmosphere favorable to the smooth production of industrial establishments, undisturbed by anything. The voivodship authorities are making great efforts in this direction.

[Question] What, then, are the actions being undertaken to normalize further the socioeconomic life of the voivodship?

[Answer] Before I answer that question, let me say a few words about the role of the military in the situation in which Poland found itself.

[Question] That was precisely my next question also. For I have the feeling that not everyone fully understands the existing situation yet.

[Answer] Well, I would like to say that the military is not at all very delighted by the fact that it had to leave the barracks and go out on the streets. It was compelled to do so by the situation, the tragic situation in which our country found itself. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski talked about this in his speech on 13 December. Thus, I will not repeat the justification of the need to impose martial law which was contained in that speech. I am convinced that all reasonable, thinking people already today are fully aware that this was not only a necessity but the final salvation of a country hovering on the brink of ruin. I would only like to emphasize that, despite what some people say, the military did not seize power and does not want to seize it. After all, the government, the Sejm, and other legislative authorities continue to fulfill their constitutional functions. In any case, what happened in Poland on 13 December cannot be defined as a military revolution. The creation of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] and its assumption of control over the events in Poland were and are aimed exclusively at aiding the state authorities in carrying out the tasks for which they were established. After all, in the final period, many links of this power were paralyzed, forbidden outright. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to talk about directing economic or social processes. WRON is the guarantor--and the military came out of the barracks only after WRON was given this responsibility--of the socialist renewal of socioeconomic life in Poland, it stands guard duty to prevent a return to what existed before August, so that it will be possible to realize everything that was appropriate, wise, good, and necessary in the post-August postulates, to make it possible to implement social and economic reforms which will provide the right conditions for overcoming the crisis. The military left the barracks to consolidate the nation around the implementation of common goals, to fill up the trenches separating Pole from Pole, to stop up the dangerous cracks in order--this also seems to me to be very important--not to permit a fratricidal war. In its actions in implementing these goals, it seeks support in the community and counts on the aid of all reasonably thinking people, everyone who holds the good Fatherland dear.

[Question] How long will this last?

[Answer] Everyone is asking himself that question. I will answer briefly--the military will remain outside the barracks as long as Poland's interests require it, as long as all troublesome matters are not set right. The practical realization of the ideas of the Front of National Understanding should hasten this process. It also will be fostered by the growth of discipline, work productivity, responsibility, harmony, and public order.

[Question] Does the presence of the military help in these ways?

[Answer] I think that the military is the sole force capable of disciplining society, of eliminating do-nothings, drunkards, speculation, parasitism, and other unfavorable phenomena in a relatively short time. I also think that the presence of the military creates opportunities for settling cadre affairs in many establishments, enterprises, and institutions. Under martial law conditions, people are checked more quickly, the possibility exists of verifying attitudes, capabilities, and professional predispositions, and there is an opportunity to break all agreements, cliques, and coterie. In my opinion, that is an important and probably still not fully appreciated aspect of the benefits to our social and economic life which can result from the continuation of martial law. Someone called it a sweeping clean of the foreground. It is the foreground not only for the implementation of all system reforms of our economy, the implementation of which will depend after all on people, especially those in managerial positions, but also the foreground for the youngest generation of Poles, just entering adulthood, for whom martial law will create new, improved possibilities for a professional start and for advancement.

[Question] Returning to the problems of the Katowice voivodship, which issues do you think are the most urgent to dispose of at this time, Comrade General?

[Answer] For now, I think that the most important things are to reduce the burden of citizens' daily lives, primarily by improving the supply of basic consumer and industrial commodities and, equally essential, to streamline the work of trade, which should lead altogether to a reduction of lines. An enormous amount of attention is being focused on the proper functioning of communication and on the work of communal services. I have in mind here the heating of residences, ongoing repairs, etc.

[Question] Much depends here on the quality of work of the administration. One still hears many complaints on this subject; and, after all, people very often evaluate the efficiency of power--which an official of a state institution represents, of course--on the basis of how they were served at a cashier's window.

[Answer] I think that martial law also furthers the streamlining of the work of the administration. An accurate definition of duties, one-man responsibility, the possibility of and even the need to make independent decisions cause state administration employees to feel more responsible for their actions. Of course, in this important field of life, too, the verification of cadres and the elimination of clumsy workers, incompetents, and dishonest workers are indispensable, and these things are being done, as attested to by the interchange of many chiefs, managers, and directors. The press writes about this almost daily.

[Question] Let us return to socioeconomic matters in the voivodship.

[Answer] Apart from emergency actions, we are currently working out a plan for the socioeconomic development of the voivodship in 1982. But it is still too early to speak of its final form. Generally speaking, particular emphasis will be placed on this first component and, thus, on the social development of the voivodship, because there are especially many omissions in this field. The most important issues which I would like to see resolved in the first sequence are: residential construction (and here I can say that there is a chance that

significantly more residences will be built this year than in recent years) and the equipping of existing residential developments with a basic infrastructure. Very urgent issues include the improvement of the water supply and the development of district heating; providing the conditions for the further development of cities and settlements; and, finally, an entire huge complex of issues connected with environmental protection--a particular plan of undertakings in this direction will be established this very month.

[Question] Comrade Mayor, if you will permit me a personal question: how do you feel behind your official desk, Major General pilot? What aspects of your experiences, of your long military service are especially useful in your work now?

[Answer] Although it is more than 50 years now since I work a military uniform, I have also held positions outside the military. I am also a graduate of a civilian educational institution, the Main School for Foreign Service. Recently, I was the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Angola and on the islands of St. Thomas and Far Away and Exotic.

Yes, that was interesting service. But considering the fact that the country where I was the ambassador had 80,000 inhabitants, and the Katowice voivodship has nearly 4 million, I can say that I have advanced.

What were the traits which I brought with me from military service which I consider useful in my present work? Primarily the habit of discipline, of clearly defining recommendations, of enforcing responsibilities, and probably the capacity to manage people, which every officer, every commander must have. And that is important not only in the military.

[Question] One more question in conclusion which I happen to have heard from several people: are you the mayor of Katowice only under martial law?

[Answer] I am a soldier. I was named to the position of mayor of Katowice as a state official. And that is my response.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

8729
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PREVENTION OF EPIDEMICS IN WAR SITUATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 81 pp 399-404

[Article by Colonel Dr Valdimir Vintonic, Lieutenant Colonel Dr Mircea Saptefrati and Colonel Dr Mircea Ghimis: "Health-Hygiene and Anti-epidemic Care in the Defense of the Country During an All People's War"]

[Text] Health-hygiene and anti-epidemic care during a defensive war will be provided by, in addition to the specialized formations of the army, those groups in the Ministry of Health, as well as the medical personnel in the patriotic guards, the Red Cross groups, women's organizations, civil defense medical groups and the rest of the population which, because of age or illness, is not directly taking part in the war. These activities will have a complex nature determined by the health-hygiene conditions inherent in the campaign, as well as by the extension of measures to the entire populace.

Right from peacetime, it is necessary for the people and the country to be prepared in order to be able to work efficiently in stopping the appearance of limiting the development of certain outbreaks of infectious-contagious diseases, in close cooperation with the specialized formations of the Ministry of Health and under the direction of the chief doctor of the group of forces in the region.

The level of activities will depend upon the aggressor's use of bacteriological weapons, the topo-climatic conditions and the level of health education of the combatants and populace in the region.

Military Hygiene - Medicine During the Campaign

Involvement in an all people's defensive war requires preparing the people to be capable of giving the appropriate rebuff to the aggressor, as well as the timely organization of the measures necessary to protect the people's health. Medical care during the campaign will be provided by, in addition to the medical forces and resources of the army, those in the health network of the Ministry of Health, the medical personnel of the patriotic guards, the Red Cross groups, the women's organizations and the civil defense medical formations, as well as the populace which, because of age or certain illnesses, is not directly involved in combat.

Keeping in mind that in an eventual aggression against our territory situations can appear that are among the most difficult for maintaining a standard of appropriate

sanitation, and it is very possible to develop outbreaks of transmittable diseases among the ranks of the combat troops and the populace, working negatively upon combat capacities.

Under these conditions, it is a clear fact that health-hygiene and anti-epidemic care for the armed forces and the populace acquires a special importance. It will have a more complex nature determined both by the sanitary-hygiene conditions that are created and by the extension of measures to the entire populace as an absolute requirement for preserving the people's health.

Sanitary-health and anti-epidemic care will, therefore, have to be prepared in detail right from peacetime, recognizing the unusual difficulties of these activities during the carrying out of combat operations.

An important advantage of organizing medical care is the fact that the activities will be carried out on a known and prepared territory in order to meet the requirement under the best possible conditions.

In cooperation with the Ministry of Health, the army's medical service has the task of organizing all the aspects of medical care for the troops.

In this regard, the detailed knowledge of the territory, with its local characteristics and the opportunities that it can offer for carrying out an efficient activity to prevent illnesses, as well as its potential for epidemics, is a priority duty for the medical service.

The permanent pursuit of the evolution of the epidemiological situation in the civilian population and the understanding of its basic immunities can direct us in forecasting the fatality rate of transmittable diseases. The result is a task of special importance for the medical organs at all levels to carry out a thorough study of the existing local possibilities of a medical-health nature in the regions where it is expected that combat operations will be carried out and in the areas that could become "free zones, an to draw up an number of operational variants.

Of great utility is the research into the monographs on the different localities and regions of the country, as well as the exchange of studies and evaluations between the chief doctors in the tactical and operational headquarters units located in different regions of the country during peacetime.

As we have pointed out, since in the achievement and application of health-hygiene and anti-epidemic measures, in the activities to prevent sickness and care for the ill and in the actions to carry out disinfection, delousing and deratization the women's organizations, youth organizations and aged or unfit for combat portion of the populace will directly be involved, it is necessary to give full attention to the health training of the populace in general, and the above-mentioned groups in particular, in order to have the correct application of measures.

In this context, we can also include the measures taken by our party and state regarding the health education of the populace. The law referring to the health care of the populace calls for "the continuing improvement in the entire population's

health education so that each citizen will become a protector of his own health, his family's and the collective group's," as well as the fact that "all citizens, beginning with their school years, are required to master the knowledge regarding giving first aid."

In addition to a thorough knowledge of the territory, it is necessary for the territory to be prepared on a timely basis in order to provide the requirements, from a material point of view, for the sanitary-hygiene and anti-epidemic activities during the campaign.

The initial superiority of the aggressor can cause great damage to the carrying out of the activities in the army's and Ministry of Health's hygiene and epidemiology network by taking out of action certain formations and by hitting certain institutes and enterprises in the national economy that supply biological (serums, vaccines, culture mediums) and sanitary and pharmaceutical materials (disinfecting and delousing materials). This requires the timely production of certain reserves of these types of materials conveniently dispersed (on the basis of studies) in possible free zones or in regions with a higher potential for epidemics.

Keeping in mind the possibility of a surprise attack, the hygiene and epidemiological formations must be prepared right from the period of increasing the troops' combat capacities by having the necessary amounts of materials, equipment and instruments and by checking the operation of the equipment on-hand so that these formations can effectively intervene right from the outset of the war.

It is necessary to have an active and permanent cooperation with the medical organs of the local defense councils and a detailed organization of anti-epidemic care by assigning the hygiene and epidemiological formations of the army and those in the Ministry of Health network to the areas of operations with precise missions and responsibilities with regards to epidemiological supervision, carrying out preventative inoculations, intervening to eliminate outbreaks of contagious diseases and so forth.

In the event of the existence of hygiene and epidemiological formations of the army and the Ministry of Health in the same region, in accordance with the principle of unified subordination and command, all these units will be responsible for the organization and implementation of the measures established by the chief doctor of the group of forces in that region and in the area assigned to them for epidemiological supervision.

Similarly, it is also necessary prior to the outbreak of war to reanalyze sanitary-hygiene care during mobilization, an operation that could be carried out under the conditions of aggressive actions unleashed by the enemy.

The volume of activities of providing sanitary-hygiene and anti-epidemic care for combat operations differs according to the time and place of the combat, the enemy's use of weapons of mass destruction, the meteorological conditions, the type of combat (encirclement, in population centers, in isolated regions, in forests, in swamps, in the delta region, along the seacoast, in the hills and so forth) and the number of work capacity of the Ministry of Health's anti-epidemic health groups in the area.

Certainly, the enemy's use of bacteriological weapons considerably increases the volume of activities for the anti-epidemic formations, presenting special problems for maintaining the health of the combat troops and the populace in the effected areas.

On the other hand, the volume of activities in zones that have been encircled and in points of long-term resistance is greatly diminished, involving only the measures needed to maintain the troops' ability to fight, with a reduced use of materials and substances.

The content of the activities to provide sanitary-hygiene care during the campaign includes checking the troops' facilities, checking their food and water supply, checking their working conditions, their physical state and health and checking the individual's equipment and means of protection.

With regards to checking housing, the hygiene and epidemiology formations, together with the staffs, will conduct a climatic-geographic and health-topographic evaluation of the place where the troops are deployed and an evaluation of technical-engineering works and the epidemiological and radiation situation in the region.

To do this, the doctors will participate in establishing the places and locations for deploying administrative and medical personnel and formations and will review fortified constructions and other objectives used for combat and locating troops. Similarly, the medical services must carry out a review of the sanitation of the battlefield and participate in the selection of the place to bury the dead, ensuring adherence to the norms for burial.

The check on food will pursue both the adherence to the quantitative and variety standards for food and the physiological value of the food and the quality and means protecting it (from radioactive and toxic sources) during transportation and storage. We also have in mind maintaining the quality of the food given to the troops and the means of protecting it, the means of setting up and operating field kitchens and the check on the state of health of the personnel. We will check those foods that come into the rear services depots or that are acquired from the region, as well as those foods captured from the enemy.

Another important aspect of the sanitary-hygiene check of the troops' food is the supervision of the activities carried out by the kitchen butchers during the campaign and the animal slaughtering points.

The sanitary-epidemiological activities will also pay attention to checking the food supply points along the supply routes and evacuation routes, the railroad lines and the river routes, as well as the state of health of the personnel involved there.

In the event of the outbreak of diseases caused by food toxins or other digestive system diseases that can be transmitted, the specialists in the anti-epidemic formations will conduct epidemiological investigations and supervise the outbreak until it is eliminated. They also have the task of checking the health education activities of the personnel in the food sector and to bolster it if necessary.

The sanitary-hygiene care for supplying potable water involves the participation of the hygiene and epidemiological formations in recognizing water sources, demonstrating chemical and bacteriological expertise in this matter. Special attention will be given to supervising the quality of water through laboratory methods and periodically disinfecting it, both at its source and in the water transportation vehicles used to get it to the consumers. It is necessary to ensure the supply of disinfecting substances both to the medical formations and to each soldier, who must know how to use them and how to use water from unidentified sources without risking their health.

In the area of supplying potable water, it is necessary for the medical service to cooperate with the engineering units (and subunits), both in identifying water sources and in managing them.

An important aspect is equipping the troops with the means to improve the quality of the water in their individual canteens and instructing them regarding the consequences of using water that is not potable from a chemical or bacteriological point of view.

Since reconnaissance-diversionary groups can infect water sources, it is necessary to guard these sources as well as food storage areas.

In reference to the check on working conditions, the medical service has the obligation to check the means of handling toxic substances, fuels, technical liquids and rocket fuels both in the storage areas and during transport and loading operations. Similarly, the doctors must pay attention to carrying out a periodical and laboratory check of those who work in radioactive or toxic environments and the handling of radioactive substances.

In equipment problems and protection for the troops, we will pursue appropriate supplies, as well as the washing and changing of clothing. The medical service is required to permanently supervise in-the-field bathing activities, bathing and washing trains and the disinfecting points at railroad stations. During peacetime local washing facilities will be identified; town and municipal baths must be maintained in operating status and, where necessary, places will be appropriated that have installations or conditions corresponding to the conduct of these activities.

Another aspect of health-hygiene care deals with the transportation of troops. The anti-epidemic formations must participate in the reconnaissance of travel routes, in establishing and organizing stops for rest during the day and night and in checking the operation of heating, water and food supplies, transport vehicles and so forth.

With regards to checking the physical state and health of the troops, evaluations will be made regarding fatalities and the troops' ability to fight, especially for those who will carry out long-term missions and missions under unusual conditions.

Regarding the deployment and operation of hospitalization bases, the medical service will identify during peacetime those places and buildings to be used for this purpose. Similarly, they will select those dispensaries capable of being used to isolate infectious diseases and other buildings functionally meeting the requirements of hospitalization.

We must keep in mind the use of civilian medical personnel in the region in the actions undertaken by the military medical service, as well as retired persons, Red Cross groups, teaching staffs and local categories of people from the local populace after prior training.

The hygiene and epidemiological formations have an important task in implementing anti-epidemic measures after the liberation of areas (large localities) temporarily occupied by the enemy.

The proper organization of the activities of the hygiene and epidemiological formations and the close cooperation with the health formations of the Ministry of Health can constitute favorable premises for limiting or blocking the outbreak of transmittable diseases during campaign conditions.

8724
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METHODS OF ANESTHESIA, THERAPY FOR USE IN WAR SITUATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 81 pp 395-398

[Article by Colonel Dr Traian Bandila, Captain Serban Marinescu, Lieutenant Major Dr Mihai Davidescu and Lieutenant Major Dr Dan Manastireanu: "Characteristics of Anesthesia and Intensive Therapy Under the Conditions of the All People's War"]

[Text] Under the conditions of a defense war brought about by an attack on a number of fronts and with the possibilities for massive losses, the use of anesthesia and life support must be adapted to the needs imposed by military operations.

Life support will begin at the place where the wound occurs and will continue during the period the injured person is being transported, pursuing a battle against pain and the prevention of the appearance of shock through the use of intravenous catheters and crystalloid and Dextran solutions.

The methods of anesthesia and support, the drugs and the anesthesia devices need to be standardized, using substances and devices manufactured in-country as much as possible.

The timely training of medical personnel for the administration of general anesthesia and for carrying out urgent life support care represents a preparatory measure for the situations where the number of anesthesia specialists could become insufficient.

Anesthesia-Life Support - Medicine in the Field

Anesthesia, life support and intensive therapy form one of the medical specialties which, in addition to surgery, epidemiology, traumatology and so forth, that is called upon to contribute to the solution of the most difficult problems facing the medical corp during wartime.

The improvements to the means of waging war and the appearance of certain new types of weapons of great destructive power bring along the production of certain groups of injuries involving multiple wounds, wounds combined with burns or wounds infected with toxic combat substances, as well as a growth in the percentage of wounds seriously susceptible to the development of shock.

Under the conditions of the all people's war, it can be estimated that the number of medical losses will be great when the area of armed intervention can cover the entire national territory following a surprise attack from a number of directions with various types of combat firepower.

Medical care for the injuries resulting from combat actions, as well as those among the ranks of the populace, can be accomplished only through the mobilization of all medical-health forces and resources in the national system of health care.

Anesthesiology and life support care must be subordinated to the established general medical-military tactics, working within the framework of certain medical units in such a way so that medical advances in these specialties can be used on the wounded right from the place where they are injured, during the period of transportation and during the different stages of medical evacuation. Thus, the therapeutic measures must be graduated according to the combat situation, the opportunities for sorting out the injured and evacuation and the material and equipment resources, as well as the number and level of training of the existing medical-health personnel.

Under the conditions of the all people's war, health tactics must be broad and must be adapted to given situations, with the level of medical help being varied in relationship to these situations and the different medical stages. Thus, the sorting of the injured and evacuation can give priority to the granting of more complete medical assistance to a group, during a certain situation and in a certain place, just as the concept of an "interior zone" acquires other meanings and dimensions.

The practice of anesthesia and life support must be adapted to the difficulties imposed by the carrying out of military operations. The difficult working conditions, without comforts, frequently in improvised shelters and under conditions where the lighting is many times provided by candles, require simple, strong and small equipment that can also be handled by less qualified personnel.

The main goal pursued is that of getting the wounded, in the shortest time possible and with the fastest transportation possible, to a shelter where a most judiciously applied antishock treatment can be administered under the given situation and to a medical group where treatment can be given to them.

The most recent armed conflicts have showed the advantage of applying life support treatments beginning at the place where the person is wounded and during the period of transport and evacuation. The method of "continuing" treatment is without a doubt superior to the "cascade-type" treatment, especially for seriously wounded persons.

Two major objectives will be pursued: the fight against pain and the fight against the appearance and evolution of shock.

The sooner the fight against pain and shock begins, right from their earliest stages, the better the results will be.

The methods of anesthesia and life support must be standardized in accordance with the given situation, the stage of evacuation and the drugs and equipment in supply, as well as the level of training of the medical-health personnel. Similarly, there is need for all medical-health personnel to have a certain amount of knowledge about anesthesia and life support since it is difficult to believe that we will have the necessary number of doctors with this type of training in such situations.

In seeking and applying the simplest anesthesia techniques, we will take into account the status of the wounded, the nature of their wounds and the location of the wounds and the principal elements of a particular type of anesthesia, as well as the evolutionary stages of these techniques.

At the pre-hospital stages, among the principal elements of modern anesthesia, analgesics and antishock protection must be administered on a priority basis.

The analgesic, sedative and tranquilizing drugs needed to be complete are morphine and its derivatives, pethidine, benzodiazepine, phenothiazine and so forth. Right at the place where the person is wounded we should administer an analgesic dosage. The introduction of the plastic syringe and its use in self-assistance or mutual assistance are necessities under these conditions. The analgesic medicines administered at this level will be recorded in the injury report and will constitute, in many cases, the pre-anesthesia medication in those cases where surgery is urgently required after the wounded arrive at the hospital.

Local and regional anesthesia (lumbar, caudal and spinal) will be used to a greater extent than in classical wars. General anesthesia will be administered in those cases where the equipment, the clinic and the personnel who know how to handle accomplish this are present. Because oxygen and CO₂ absorbers cannot be sufficiently supplied, the general anesthesia technique of "air-anesthesia" in a semi-open circuit will predominate. Among the inhale-type anesthesia substances, we must count upon those produced in-country (ether).

Respiratory life support during the pre-hospital evacuation stages will pursue the maintenance of open airways and the provision of assistance or control of breathing using simple devices based on the principle of air inflation.

Circulatory life support must be applied right at the place of injury on the battlefield. Intravenous catheters gain special importance, with the reestablishment of the circulatory volume levels being started even at the earliest stages for those who are seriously injured and who can develop shock. Macromolecular (dextrans) solutions will be used in greater proportions since stored blood will be hard to obtain. The injured person who has a catheter put in place for the administration of a dextran (or other solution) dosage can be thus evacuated to a hospital.

Anesthesia and life support in the territorial hospitals will have characteristics similar to the emergency surgical activities like those in the front line mobile hospitals and in the hospitals in the hospitalization bases.

Anesthesia equipment manufactured in-country will correspond to the requirements. The anesthesia techniques in the hospitals can be diversified within the limits of the standardizations for military hospitals (in relationship to the substances in supply).

Life support and intensive therapy activities in the front line hospital will be especially directed towards the prevention and treatment of shock, as well as the prevention of complications stemming from shock. Here, circulatory volumes can be

reestablished, according to the indications, using blood, macromolecular solutions, polyionic crystalline solutions, vaso-active medications can be administered, metabolic balance can be reestablished and so forth.

At the hospitalization bases, intensive therapy activities must include all the major problems such as the reestablishment of insufficiencies in circulation, respiration, metabolical balance, renal balance, the treatment of comas and so forth.

In order to make ends meet under the conditions of a defensive all people's war and such complex activities, a good organization is needed. It will be necessary to have large quantities of materials dispersed in stable and mobile territorial hospital units and depots. Among the especially useful materials will be those with a single dose of volume solutions, anesthesia substances, simple and strong devices, and so forth. It is desirable for measures to be taken so that the necessary materials will be produced in-country.

Similarly, it is necessary to have a multidisciplinary medical-military training for medical-health personnel, as well as a health education program for all citizens regarding first aid problems, including the elementary problems of life support.

Conclusions

1. Under the conditions of a defensive all people's war, the practice of medical care, including anesthesia, life support and intensive therapy, is made difficult by the damage that this type of combat generates in addition to that characteristic of classical warfare.
2. Within the framework of the volume of medical assistance for the seriously wounded, the fight against pain and the prevention of the onset of shock are first priority.
3. The standardization of anesthesia and life support methods is necessary as a requirement of the first order.
4. The methods of anesthesia and life support must be primarily based upon equipment and substances manufactured in-country.
5. The standardization of anesthesia and life support equipment, as well as single-use materials, are equally recommended.
6. The introduction of the discipline of anesthesia-intensive therapy in university education for all graduates of medical departments must teach them to administer, when needed, general anesthesia and emergency life support.
7. The continuation of the process of training doctors at a sustained rate in the network of the Ministry of Health (specializations and follow-on training) in order to be able to meet the needs under the conditions of an all people's defensive war.

8724
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BRIEFS

RECOGNITION OF CHURCH OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop Leonid Plamadeala is recognized in the position of Archbishop of Sibiu and Metropolitan of Transylvania, a position to which he was elected by the Electoral College of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 10 January 1982. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 23 Jan 82 p 4]

APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Constantinescu is appointed deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 13, 29 Jan 82 p 2]

CSO: 2700/190

ORIGINS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIETY EXPLORED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1617, 27 Dec 81 pp 26-27

[Article by Professor Najdan Pasic: "The Origin of Partitions and Barriers"]

[Text] Can a party initiate and guide the processes of the democratization of the overall political relations that lead to the withering away of the state, and remain outside of these processes itself? Can a party based on the principle of democratic centralism find its true place in a system of municipal self-management and really act as an integral part of that system, and not as a branch of the central authorities carried over into the party itself? What changes are needed in the organization and method of action of the party, in order for it to be really included in the processes of a direct union of political authority and self-management--in processes whose primary framework and starting point are the self-managing municipality?

Not much progress has been made in searching for theoretical and concrete answers to these and similar questions. Particularly little has been done in the direction of a consistent critical analysis of the significant and contradictory practical experiences of the October, Yugoslav, and other socialist revolutions in the modern era.

When the revolutionary act of destroying the old authority and establishing a new one has already been carried out, a latent contradiction, concealed until that time, inevitably rises to the surface of sociopolitical reality. This is a contradiction between a rigidly centralized, comprehensive party organization with a relatively narrow personnel composition, and the broad autonomy of new authorities of the commune type that appear as the very antithesis of the previous state centralism. A concrete aspect of this contradiction is the collision between the leading (command) role of the party, which is implemented from a single center, and the spontaneity and independence of directly democratic decision-making "from below" at hundreds and thousands of points in which the new authorities are constituted. The direction in which this contradiction is resolved leaves the main imprint on the entire further development of the sociopolitical system.

According to its intentions, the formation of social councils under administrative agencies, which is being planned and undertaken today, should entail a large

step forward in the socialization of this part of the mechanism of the state's authority, which is the one most exposed to the bureaucratic erection of barriers and "alienation." In regard to this, certain positive results can justly be expected.

From both the theoretical and practical political points of view, however, one may justifiably raise the question of how much this method of democratizing the executive and administrative functions is appropriate to the delegate system, especially in the current phase of its development. The constitution of delegate assemblies has already significantly expanded the room for the free expression of individual interests and a directly democratic form and content in the process of coordinating them. A corresponding degree of effectiveness and consistency has not been achieved, however, in implementing and expressing the agreed-upon policy resulting from the process of coordinating interests. If the creation of social councils under administrative agencies has to mean introducing the elements of the coordination of partial interests into the sphere of implementing and carrying out a policy, will this not disrupt even further the equilibrium between the establishment and the implementation of a policy, to the detriment of the latter (i.e. to the detriment of the achievement of goals in which general and joint interest has been expressed)?

This danger is especially evident in regard to the executive and administrative agencies in a municipality. These agencies carry out not only the policy of the municipal assembly, but also the policy of the broader sociopolitical communities. As a result of this, there is an implicit danger that pressure from local interests will interfere with the consistent and impartial implementation of general regulations when they affect the local interests of "one's own" enterprises or certain categories of citizens. As is well known from practical experience, this is one of the potential sources for violations of constitutionality and legality. Will not the creation of social councils under administrative agencies, if it means the institutionalization of a channel for the direct influence of various interests on policy implementation, intensify localistic tendencies, which are very marked in any case?

The free expression of the pluralism of self-managing interests is the social basis and democratic prerequisite for the delegate system. The very process of the necessary coordination and political synthesis of different interests has its natural center and focus in the delegate assemblies. If this focus is essentially changed, if the process of coordinating different partial interests is shattered and diffused into all parts of the political system, including even the socio-political organizations (which should be a factor for coordinating interests not outside, but within the delegate assembly mechanism) and the executive and administrative agencies of the assemblies themselves (which should carry out a coordinated policy and not create it themselves like autonomous and parallel centers for the coordination of interests), then this will cause serious disruptions in the delegate system of managing and exercising authority, and endanger certain essential prerequisites for the normal and effective operation of that system.

Control over the social product and appropriation of it in accordance with the state property principle have been abolished, but state agencies have retained

the right to use their measures to establish and regulate the "conditions for economic activity" for every branch of the economy and every area of activity. This right, in exaggerated concrete aspects of its realization, grows into a sort of para-property, which may "successfully" replace the formally abolished state property monopoly.

This is the material basis for the great although partially concealed power of the state and para-state centers of decision-making, and for the appearance of the elements of a state-hireling attitude and psychology, also in a disguised form. In both cases tendencies arise toward strengthening or protecting one's own position and immediate interests by establishing quasi-property rights (and often a very real property monopoly) to parts of the social property, either on a territorial and political basis or on a production and group property basis. Behind the veil of social property and self-managing norms and institutions, a relationship of forces and constellation of interests are established that exert great pressure on social property in order to disintegrate and paralyze it, and to parcel it out among numerous and increasingly more numerous state and quasi-self-managing entities.

But what is thus parcelled out and disintegrated is not just the material means of social production, but also the working class, which has not yet managed to take control of these means as a whole through self-management. From this ideological and class standpoint (and not just from the standpoint of economic efficiency), the very widespread occurrences of group-property barriers within individual enterprises, economic areas, and especially individual narrower and broader sociopolitical (territorial) communities, should be considered and evaluated. These occurrences essentially have a profoundly non-self-managing nature and meaning, and are a direct threat to the vital long-term interests of the working class.

Interests opposed to the free self-managing association of labor and equipment also have a stronghold both in the political-administrative structure and in associated labor.

This is the case in the political-administrative structure because of the fact that the still autonomous social power and influence of those responsible for political-administrative functions in each sociopolitical community, from the municipality to the federation, are based on rights and authorities in regard to the organizations of associated labor on "its" territory. By determining the conditions for economic activity, as part of their considerable legal authority, exercising direct and indirect control over the enormous funds for joint and general social expenditure, and interpreting and representing the interests of the organizations of associated labor on their territory with respect to other organizations of associated labor and their political representatives, the executive and other agencies of a sociopolitical community establish a political patronage over the economy in their area, and thus also certain quasi-property rights over the corresponding territorially defined parts of the social property. Behavior tending toward territorial autarchy and group property privatization is a natural consequence of such a state of affairs.

A little known but significant source for the above-mentioned distortions exists in the area of personnel policy. The formal "alleviation" or even abolition of a hierarchical structure in the agencies for social administration, the basic social services, and large firms has not led automatically to inclusion of all of the elements of the centralized personnel policy. The vertical mobility of personnel (advancement along invisible and still existing political-state ladders) has been decided upon in the centers for personnel policy outside of the communes, which have been separated and removed from this policy. There has been influence from the rank-and-file, but it has rarely been crucial. This has had (and to some extent still has even today) great significance for the position and conduct of the leading personnel in a municipality. The system of political patrons and clients--which is characteristic of all systems in which the professional political-administrative layer has a strong position and considerable social privileges--has proven to be tenacious and hardy under the new conditions, in spite of the far-reaching decentralization and democratization measures directed toward strengthening independence and the self-managing municipality. It has not been easy to eradicate the claims to individual "high" leaders (in the provinces, republics, and federation) to have a personal and direct influence on personnel policy in their area, in spite of public condemnations of such behavior and certain measures (not always consistent) for the democratization of the candidacy and election procedure. Undeveloped self-management relations and political professionalism have made it possible for these phenomena and tendencies, characteristic of bureaucratic political representation systems, to be reproduced.

Strengthening the process of self-managing transformations of the Yugoslav political system will be accomplished primarily through the political and ideological action of conscientious organized socialist forces, and not through any radical changes in the existing institutional solutions. For this action to be conducted successfully, however, it is of crucial significance that those conducting it not suffer from a fetish for normative solutions and projections, but rather constantly analyze practice in a critical manner, taking into account both subjective weaknesses and the objective contradictions through which the development of revolutionarily new institutions and relations in our society is being disrupted.

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DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRY'S CLASS STRUCTURE ESSAYED

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[Article by Slaven Letica: "What Class Do You Belong To?"]

[Text] Our collaborator in Zagreb, the sociologist Slaven Letica, revives the topic of the social map of Yugoslavia, which was announced with quite a bit of fanfare by the trade unions at the beginning of the year and then quietly and ever more quietly simply dropped from public notice.

When at the beginning of this year galloping inflation (for the first time over the last 30 some years) seriously shook the very foundations of our everyday life, trade union activists offered the public a drive to prepare a so-called "social map" of the work force (more precisely, of each worker individually). They call for data to be gathered on every worker concerning the conditions of his life (his own and those of his family): housing conditions, pay--income, property, health, and so on. The "social maps" of the work force, ran the thinking of the authors of this interesting idea, could be used for conducting a more vigorous policy of protecting (the standard of living) of the poorest workers and families. The idea of preparing "social maps" has today been slowly pushed into oblivion (at least as far as publicity is concerned). Perhaps because the technical problems of carrying it out were greater than the authors supposed; or the reason was of a more prosaic nature: what was at that time the shock of inflation has long since grown to become a habit in life and politics. However that may be, the author of this piece, using the idea of the "social map" as an intellectual stimulus, will attempt to prepare--instead of a multitude of individual maps--a sketch of an overall "social map" (of the population) of Yugoslavia. More precisely, an attempt will be made to answer (in quantitative terms) the question: What sort of social population groups--families (classes, strata, brackets and the like) are living and working in self-managing Yugoslavia at the present time? Just one more necessary remark by way of introduction: since the rhetorical question we have stated is still "loaded" with politics, I must offer an apology in advance to all those whose theoretical-political-class-denagogic "feelings" I will (altogether (un)intentionally) offend.

Social Structure as a Taboo Topic

Over the last 10 or 15 years (it can be proven that Tito's famous 1962 speech in Split initiated all the subsequent theoretical and political reflections concerning social differences and the social structure of our society) about 500 "bibliographic units" and some 10,000 pages of manuscript have been written in our country in answer to the question What or who is the working class and what is the social structure of our society (in writing this article I have been compelled to reread a goodly portion of what has been written)? At the same time, the number of titles on the "new working class" under capitalism and on the "friendly classes" and social structure of "Eastern" socialism runs into the many thousands.

I place Tito's speech in Split at the origin of the development of present-day theories of the social structure of Yugoslavia society for quite obvious reasons.

Namely, the discussions of the social structure of our society (and of socialist society in general) were conducted even before 1962. Those discussions were particularly intensive and bitter after 1948 (criticism of the Cominform Resolution and criticism of Stalinism) and 1950 (introduction of self-management).

However, the intensive debate concerning the social structure (in the period 1950-1953) was abruptly broken off by a political intervention in 1954. As is well known, the reason for the political intervention was the emergence of Djilas' shocking positions in the realm of political theory concerning the social structure. His theses concerning the bureaucracy (the "Red bourgeoisie") and certain other things acted like a political-theoretical shock on the public. The response of the LC [League of Communists] was quite logical and the only possible one: a personal, political and theoretical showdown with Milovan Djilas. Though no one explicitly called for it (not even the LC), discussion of the social structure therefore became a taboo topic after that (right up until 1962).

Only the authority of Tito's 1962 speech in Split brought a change of direction in the way this topic was looked upon. I quote three sentences from his speech which unquestionably comprise a call for discussion of wealth and poverty, social stratification, social ranks and classes:

"We have seen the ceiling on salaries stretched to absolutely impossible proportions. There are cases when the highest salary is as much as 20-fold greater than the lowest salary in one and the same collective. It is simply incomprehensible, comrades, how this has come about of itself. But now we will have to do something so it goes no further....

"There have been cases where a worker, say, receives only 2,000 of that surplus which has been created, while someone else receives 80,000 dinars."

After 1962 there was a true revolution in theoretical and political conceptions of the social structure of our self-managing society. Nevertheless, 20 years of theoretical discussion and study of the social structure have obviously not been sufficient for attainment of any sort of consensus in theory and politics concerning the essential dilemmas in the realm of theory or concerning the reality

of class and social relations. In this, of course, everyone brings to bear the testimony of authoritative theoreticians (Marx, Engels and Lenin) and the vital interests of the working class.

Schools of Thought

I will divide the multitude of views concerning Yugoslavia's social structure into three dominant groups or schools of thought (with a small risk that some of the theorists will remain outside this classification).

The first group is made up of representatives of the so-called working people theory: theoreticians (and politicians) who think and assert that in our country one cannot speak of classes in the conventional (?) sense of the word, since the entire population lives and appropriates under the same conditions--on the basis of work and according to the principle of distribution according to work. Classes, then, do not exist as interest-based and politically antagonistic coalitions (much as the formula "friendly classes" is used in so-called real Eastern socialism). Moreover, according to this theory distribution according to work is bringing about certain social differences, but not differences which could constitute class stratification.

The common denominator of the second group of theorists is the view that our society is a class society and is based on the existence of two or more classes (representing more or less opposed interests and outlook). This group is not homogeneous in its theory nor with respect to its estimates of the number or naming of the classes. I will illustrate how heterogeneous are the views within this group with a quote from Professor Doctor Stipe Suvar:

"In the literature of political sociology and political philosophy, and still more in journalism, we encounter emphasis on dichotomies: proletariat--bureaucracy, working class--the elite class, the working class--the stratum of managers, professional politicians and officials in the economic administration, the working class--the counterclass, the working class--groups outside it, the working class--the middle class, and the working class--the polity. We have had occasion to encounter assertions about a new class and about a new bourgeoisie. The elite, the technocracy, the ruling stratum, and the financial oligarchy have also been denoted as a segment of society which are privileged under socialism and are the ruling segment vis-a-vis the working class itself." (S. Suvar, "Samo-upravljanje i alternative" [Self-Management and the Alternatives])

Finally, the third large group of theorists is made up of scientists who as they undertake analysis of the social structure take into account what is referred to in Lenin's "definition" of classes as the "mode of acquisition and size of the wealth of society which they possess." Taking into account empirical data on occupation, education, social origin, property, income, living conditions and way of life, "life style" and "value orientations," and the like of the population, these theorists use statistics to define so-called social strata, that is, the layers of the social structure. Sometimes they mention four "layers," and sometimes 8, 10, 12, or even more.

Although if the truth be told all the theorists and their theories can be fitted more or less comfortably into the classic Marxist quotations concerning classes, the class struggle and the social structure, they wear themselves out in attempts to chase each other out of those quotations. But let the reader draw his own conclusion about whether or not they can be fitted into the "quotations" from the following quote from the most famous definition of classes, that of Lenin:

"Classes" is a term given to large groups of people who differ with respect to their place in a historically determined system of social production, with respect to their relation ... to the means of production, with respect to their role in the social organization of labor, and, accordingly, with respect to the mode of acquisition and size of the social wealth which they possess...." To round out this definition it is useful to add the element of class identification and consciousness on which Marx insists more strongly.

The devil knows (!) why in political circles representatives of the third, the so-called stratification, theory have always had the poorest standing on the scales of political confidence. Their theoretical craft has usually been labeled "unMarxist" and "Western (bourgeois)." Obviously more because similar or the same theories and methods of studying the social structure have been favorites in the West than because there is no place for them in Marx' or Lenin's "definitions."

At the same time the political and theoretical underestimation, and indeed even complete rejection, of "stratification" approaches (in our context), motivated by grounds alleged to lie in authentic Marxism, usually results in a concealment of relations and the size of property, appropriation and possession, that is, a clouding over of the conditions and mode of life of millions; a veil of silence over everything Tito spoke about back in 1962 (at which point no one denounced him for concerning himself with "stratification" topics). Beneath the academic peace between the "class" and "Marxist" approaches, then, lies hidden the desire to conceal social differences--the enrichment of some and the pauperization of others.

Everything we have said so far leads to the thesis on which I particularly insist (incidentally, it is nothing new, nor is this article, since all of our own and foreign Marxists have reached this conclusion long ago); the alternative between studying the existence of our society's class structure or studying the existence of the interest-stratum structure is simply a false alternative.

Under normal conditions (that is, stable conditions, and such in Yugoslavia are predominant), the stratum-interest structure controls politics and life; in revolutionary--that is, exceptional--situations the class-interest structure becomes decisive. It is in those (revolutionary) situations that class identification and class consciousness and class struggle emerge. Moreover, if one is to understand a society's social structure, one needs to study the real relations in ownership and appropriation, and not perform merely an analysis of the formal, normative and prescribed relations.

Many people in our country, unfortunately, build up their notions of the social structure on the premise of an identity between what is prescribed and real life.

And since it is set down in black and white in all our great documents that our socialism abolishes every (!) form of monopoly over the ownership of the means of production (according to Marx, this is the basic and even exclusive source of the class division of labor), the conclusion is "coolly" framed that differences between social groups and individuals can be reduced merely to differences that arise out of their work abilities (so that some are factory managers and others are trashmen). All according to the maxim: Before the state (as indeed before God) all men are equal.

The indecision of theories and theorists are only part and parcel of the general indecision of the public--of public opinion. To give an example, an extensive survey conducted by an institute in Serbia proper in late 1974 put the question: "We would like to know if in your opinion there are separate social classes in our society?"; out of 1,000 respondents an equal number (371)--strange coincidence--replied that our society is a "class society" and that it is a "classless society" (the other 258 decided on the response "Don't know").

The Worker Aristocracy and the Intellectual Proletariat

The reason is by all appearances a simple one. Present-day society, including even a self-managing society, makes the social and class structure and social identification extremely "dense" and complex.

In Marx' time, and indeed even in the first half of the 20th century, concepts of the working class (and of other classes), of class identification, of class consciousness and class struggle, were logically derived by empirical and theoretical analysis from real social (economic, political and cultural) life. The working class was clearly separate from the classes set in opposition to it with respect to its interests, its consciousness, its way of life, its culture, and so on. The organization of work life, of public life, of education, culture and other aspects of life was adapted to the fundamental class structure of society.

The development of industrial society (accompanied by the processes of the development and democratization of social welfare and cultural policy) radically separates the spheres of "private life" and "work life." Money, that great symbol of the nonexistent social justice of the bourgeois world, is the only (artificial, to be sure) connection between the two halves of life.

The working class of the Western bourgeois world, once a "class for itself" (a working class conscious of its own historic influences and interests), often loses its own class essence; it becomes a "class against itself," a class incapable of refusing "the blessings of the here and now" (which belongs to the bourgeoisie) instead of the travails of building future freedom.

In assenting to the rotten compromises of everyday life in consumer civilization, the wisest leaders and representatives of the class (it is a fact that Lenin even detected this in his own time) often rise up into a "worker aristocracy"--a kind of Fifth Column in the historic march of the proletariat.

Democratization of politics, of culture, of consumption, of sexuality--democratization of life in general--has destroyed the dominant "status symbols" in our structure of daily social and cultural existence.

The Red quarters have long since disappeared from the cities (in Zagreb Trnje, once a symbol of working class and revolutionary Zagreb, is today overflowing with all kinds of bureaucratic interlopers: scribblers, SIZ [self-managing community of interest] officials, politicians; to be sure, it would as yet still be pretentious to say of Tuskanac that it has become a working class quarter); the son of the bank manager, the daughter of the committee secretary and--very rarely, to be sure--the son of the skilled worker go together to "'elite' educational centers." University professors, chiefs of surgery, SIZ officials and textile workers share ski lodges and seaside cabins.

Merchants, opera singers and their former housemaids are today weekend neighbors (I know in fact of a case where the housemaid of one of our important scientists managed to build a weekend cottage, which he hasn't managed). "Boutique boys" and "goulash students" dance together to rock and roll in small discotheques and clubs. Certainly there is a shade of difference in it all: the poorer ones are considerably less frequently represented in enjoyment of the good life.

Yet the differences--many conclude from this--are exclusively quantitative in nature. Thus in our context classes are usually conceived as aggregates with differing purchasing power. The social structure of society is being analyzed more and more (even in our country) in terms of consumption, the purchasing power of the individual and family, and their life style.

For altogether journalistic reasons, what the sociologists usually call a stratum (that is, a term that has been castrated in the sense of values and conveniently borrowed from geology) I will refer to here as a caste (this term needs to be rehabilitated from any possible feudalistic connotation it might have).

I have used the data of population statistics, labor statistics and data of various surveys for the quantifications of the social structure. Unfortunately, I was unable to use the data of the 1981 Population Census, since they will be published only in the coming months and years.

Sketch of the Social Map

A brief note. The numbers given to illustrate caste statistics will cover only the work force; anyone can multiply them by two to get the composition of the total population. I classify and divide Yugoslavia's work force, then, into the following classes and strata-castes!

1. The Self-Managing Working Class

I provisionally define our most numerous social group as follows: all workers in the economy, regardless of position in the occupational division of labor belong to this class if they participate directly in the creation of products or services, if they do not possess any form of monopoly which would make it possible for them to appropriate by other means than their work; so, all workers/self-managers who share the fate of the performance of the results of their own work in terms of income, and those workers in the noneconomic sphere who are not administrative personnel (regardless of whether they stoke the furnace, drive a vehicle, do the cleaning or sit at a typewriter).

Within itself the self-managing working class is not at all homogeneous with respect to interests. Though the differentiation of this class with respect to interests occurs with respect to a whole number of socioeconomic criteria (sector or industry, region, that is, the relationship of the center to the provinces, position in the system of the organization of work, working conditions and the manner and level of remuneration, living conditions and the way of life, and so on, and so on), the dominant criteria in the differentiation with respect to interest distinguish three groups which are relatively homogenized with respect to interest:

i. The stratum-caste of worker-peasants (hybrids) consists of 550,000 industrial and service workers, mainly semiskilled. They make up for large deficiencies with respect to the possibility of exercising their self-management rights--because of their modest education--by a radical and possessive value orientation determined by necessity. Living off their work and from farming, this stratum, with its double work load, relates the larger share of its social identification to the farm and the land than to its "paid" employment.

ii. The stratum-caste of moonlighting workers exceeds the number 400,000 (according to a survey of the Croatian Republic SIZ for Employment Security in Zagreb, the estimate of this number could have been set even higher). Moonlighting workers are more and more comprising a separate social "agglomerate" which is homogeneous in its values. Cheating the social sector either directly or indirectly (through "sick leave," doing private work during working hours, or "conserving their energy" on the job), and offering disloyal competition to the private sector (private craftsmen and tradesmen), the members of this caste make up a separate coalition based on social and economic interest.

iii. The stratum-caste of the self-managing working class in the strict sense numbers 3 million or so semiskilled workers, skilled workers, highly skilled workers, technicians, engineers and other workers who base their own existence on the business success of the results of their labor. For this category of producers income-sharing relations, the relations of self-management, market relations and many other relations within the production relation are not mere words, but an existential matter. Within itself this stratum is "cut up" with respect to interest by position in the social and occupational division of labor, by industry, region or other characteristics, and especially by the conditions of appropriating income and the level of income appropriated, as well as by living conditions.

Within the stratum-caste of the self-managing working class in the strict sense we therefore find substrata of the extremely poor and substrata of the relatively well-off. The range between poverty and wealth is today approximately 1:10, that is, whereas 3 percent of the workers have salaries under 400 dinars, there are also workers with salaries higher than 30,000 and 40,000 dinars.

2. The Classic (Not Exactly Altogether) Working Class

All those workers who work and earn income under the conditions of the classic relationship between the employer (boss) and the hired worker belong to this class. This class, then, is made up of the following:

- i. 100,000 hired workers legally employed in the private sector;
- ii. some 40,000 "hired men" of well-off peasants;
- iii. about 150,000 "traditional" day laborers in construction, agriculture, and so on;
- iv. about 700,000 of our workers employed abroad;
- v. 80,000-100,000 live-in maids, housemaids, cleaningwomen and other hired workers,
- vi. about 800,000 registered (!) unemployed (and 400,000-500,000 unregistered), regardless of social and occupational status.

We must immediately point out that many of the six subcategories of the "classic" working class which have been enumerated hardly deserve that attribute. The large demand for "hired" labor has raised "wages," for example, in construction and agriculture to high levels--1,000 or more new dinars (with full board and drinks, of course). Aside from that, the sole classic representatives of the working class--those employed abroad--are also attempting to offset their social and political disenfranchisement with economic prosperity (unsuccessfully no doubt).

3. Administrative and Bureaucratic Castes

The large differences in socioeconomic position and power and the heterogeneity of Yugoslavia's bureaucracy do not allow for the various bureaucratic strata to be identified and defined in terms of class interest and political interest. That is why the bureaucracy is not a class, but an assemblage of a number of more or less socially related groups. It is made up of the following:

- i. The economic bureaucracy in the strict sense consists of 580,000 outright officeworkers (accountants, cashiers, personnel officers, and staff specialists), as well as a goodly portion of the 110,000 so-called "miscellaneous specialists" (the majority of these are economists and lawyers with high-sounding titles, but with bureaucratic jobs and mentality).
- ii. The business-enterprise bureaucracy consists of 110,000 enterprise managers, high-level professional management personnel, and "organizers of work and production."

This stratum-caste is socially very heterogeneous and broken up in terms of interest according to the criterion of sector interest and regional interest. Its essential feature is its great microeconomic and low macroeconomic and political power and the "petty" privileges of the classic "manager of a government enterprise" (a car with a chauffeur to go to and from work, the right to select a secretary, etc.).

- iii. The noneconomic bureaucracy is very difficult to quantify. Yet there is little risk of error if we estimate here 30-40 percent of the total work force in

the noneconomic sphere, that is, 200,000-250,000 people. The power of this group is relatively large, since it often decides on various individual rights: employment, housing, education--enrollment and the like.

Possibly because of its economic position this bureaucracy can be further divided into the following:

a. the administrative stratum in the privileged noneconomic sphere--the SIZ's, the economic chambers, the government administration, etc.;

b. the administrative stratum in the "skimpy" noneconomic sphere--education, science, culture, the health service, and so on.

iv. The government bureaucracy, the so-called government administration, numbers about 180,000 white-collar workers and consists of 27,000 employed in the "legislative branch" (assemblies and agencies); 103,000 in the "executive branch" (committees, institutes, councils, etc.); 25,000 in the judicial branch, and 23,000 in the social accounting service.

v. The political and ideological bureaucracy: 27,310 semiprofessionals and professionals, politicians and "politicals," political specialists and related personnel in the organs of the party, trade unions, the youth organization and the socialist alliance comprise our political and ideological "administration."

Strong and effective in all situations of political crisis--in situations when the external or internal enemy of our territorial or political or ideological integrity makes its appearance--that bureaucracy is less effective on "peacetime" ideological issues. Lacking large professional and scientific power, that bureaucracy is mainly concerned in peacetime with its own organizational and personnel matters and with writing endless abstract conclusions, resolutions and recommendations. Even a superficial analysis reveals in this mass of schematized texts of paper "politics" a multitude of plagerized passages, vulgar copying and repetition.

vi. The SIZ bureaucracy numbers 43,500 officeworkers of "work communities" and "staff services" of SIZ's; this bureaucracy decides on important individual rights and instead of being the "civil servant" of associated labor self-managed on the basis of interest, it usually acts as the agent of the interests of the government and political bureaucracy and as its operational and financial extension.

vii. The financial and banking bureaucracy consists of 68,500 members of the administrative personnel of banks and 15,000 in insurance institutions.

viii. The bureaucracy of the trade associations is certainly a specific strain of the bureaucracy; the 8,371 "workingmen" employed in associations of OUR's [organization of associated labor] represent that type of bureaucracy which regardless of whether it represents maritime shipping or agriculture or mining lives in the centers of the largest cities, concerning itself with "planning," "development," "establishment of linkage" and similar "productive" tasks.

By way of conclusion of this brief survey of the bureaucratic castes (I have written more extensively on this topic some 6 months back in the magazine FOKUS) we certainly should say that within the power structure and government structure there is a separate stratum of 9,000 political officeholders (in the strict sense of the word) and 6,500 persons elected in executive and delegate entities.

That is, in view of the fact that more than 70 percent of the decisions on expanded reproduction are made outside the immediate reach of the self-managing workers, the great economic, social and political (monopoly) power of this social group is pronounced. The institutionalized system of privileges (housing for officeholders, so-called official-private automobiles, elite residential areas, easier access to public institutions, and so on) gives this social group something like a separate style of life and behavior.

3. The peasant class (in the hilly Balkans) is put here in the "high third place" because of its size and not because of its wealth, prestige or power. This class is also the one most frequently beyond doubt in theory. Everyone recognizes it. Three and a half million peasants, the so-called private farmers, make up a class familiar to us all and consisting of us ourselves, our fathers and grandfathers. A class which is dying out. Because of the economic laws of development of the (composition) of the population, but also because of necessity: in 1978, for example, the level of the liquid assets of the peasant household was still 70 percent below that of the nonpeasant and nonfarm household.

4. The Middle Castes (Middle Class)

I am using the term "middle castes" here to bring together strata-castes which are socially very heterogeneous. This term is not intended, then, to express anything they have in common, but a linkage that is merely technical and formal. Here are those strata-castes.

1. The intelligentsia in the strict sense of the word (that is, that portion of the workers who have graduated from junior and senior postsecondary institutions, but do not belong to the working class, the peasant class or the bureaucratic caste) is an extremely numerous social group. We should be aware, that is, that between 1945 and 1981 more than 300,000 people graduated from junior postsecondary institutions and more than 400,000 people from senior postsecondary institutions in Yugoslavia. Of course, they do not all belong to the caste of the intelligentsia. Many belong to the working class and other classes and to the bureaucratic castes. Nevertheless, if we include in the intelligentsia only the following categories of workers: teachers, physicians, scientists, artists and staff and free-lance writers (of all kinds), its number exceeds 400,000. Our intelligentsia is not homogeneous by any means; it differs within itself in its social origin, its value (and political-ideological) commitment, and particularly in its living conditions and life style.

The exponential growth of the Yugoslav intelligentsia, made possible by the conception of supermass education, on the one hand is increasing the social power of this stratum, while on the other hand it is creating the danger of the phenomenon of an intellectual proletariat, that is, the danger of mass unemployment and the threatened existence of this caste.

ii. The stratum-caste of commercial rentiers and middlemen are made up of those who buy and sell (on a large scale), those who deal in housing space, moneylenders, those who wheel and deal with foreign currencies.... Even a fortune-teller would not be able to judge the size of this suite which makes its living in semi-criminal ways.

iii. The stratum-caste of intellectual rentiers and middlemen (whom we do not regard as intelligentsia in the previous sense) emerged only in the last few years since the flowering of tourism based on conferences and congresses and the phenomenon of the provincial university. It is made up of various political lecturers, university wheelers and dealers (those who have chairs in as many as five universities, but prepare their lectures mostly in airplanes), producers of "instant" scientific papers, producers of general enactments, and so on. There are more than 2,000 of them.

iv. The stratum-caste of cultural, scientific and "show business" creators covers some 50,000 (or slightly less) sons and daughters of the various muses. This is a most variegated company: it includes those who sing newly composed music and the primitive painters and the industrialists of the entertainment industry and all others. I cram them into the same basket, since I really do not know where to put them. Show business is increasingly numerous and increasingly prosperous and powerful. Let us say at present 5,000.

v. The caste of "servants of God" consists of 12,000 religious workers, priests, monks, head priests, and others. (Allow me the freedom of not knowing how they live.)

vi. The stratum-caste of the large private entrepreneurs. The number of members of this social group--the group of private businessmen who hire more than five workers and a turnover of capital larger than 1 billion old dinars a year, is not large: perhaps about 200 or 300 people. The social power of this caste is based on money and the shortcomings, "loopholes," of the legal system and shortcomings in organization of the work of the socialized sector. This group conducts its "large transactions" either by operating on the margins of the law--and that is to "put it mildly"--or by performing tasks directly for the socialized sector. In political terms this is a very "loyal" social group: standing aloof from politics and declaring itself in favor of "self-management," this group builds its ideology and value orientation on devotion to the Almighty Dinar.

vii. The stratum-caste of (small-scale) private entrepreneurs who hire manpower comprises 160,000 owners of production and craft and trade shops and 35,000 owners of hostelry, commercial and service establishments. On the average this stratum has not "swelled to bursting" with wealth.

Conclusion

The figures and incidental observations accompanying the "caste statistics" should (so the author intended) create a documented impression that the bases of social stratification in Yugoslavia are the criteria of work and the work contribution, as the dominant criterion, but also by the criteria of position, social origin and other similar criteria which are not based on work.

Nevertheless, the social tensions between the members of the various strata-castes are still not such as to take on any serious and manifest political expression. That is, there is relatively large room for mobility in the castes. Up to now the educational system has had the function of a "channel for advancement," and access to education has by and large been democratic--since in principle it was unlimited. Today, when restricted enrollment is being introduced in education, there is a danger of so-called "negative selection" based on caste. The wakeful eyes of the public and the extreme sensitiveness of the enrollment procedures have at present left that "negative selection" at the level of atypical cases of irresponsibility. Enough said. The "social map" is an important topic and science ought to say more than is said about it without censorship or self-censorship. On another occasion we will speak about how the process of "work measurement" and distribution according to work affects it.

The author's social map: social origin worker-peasant, master's degree in economics, 35 years old, married, one child, one wife, one place to live (60 square meters), salary 14,000, belongs to the castes: intelligentsia.

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MISTREATMENT OF SERBIAN ORTHODOX NUNS IN KOSOVO ALLEGED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 205, 2 Jan 82 pp 18-19

[Article by Dragoljub Golubovic: "The Princes Are Not Eager For the Quarrel..."]

[Text] In addition to the good news, bad news is also coming from Kosovo. Albanian irredentism is not being idle.

The enormous book written by time is being expanded with some pages that are disturbing.

There is no more mistake. The traces can be seen better now. Unfortunately, they lead right up to the churches and monasteries, to the frescos, iconostases, church books and libraries, to the places where the spiritual life of a people developed.

Something has already changed, and something is changing, but something has to be cured, and something prevented.

Here is one story.

From Suva Reka, near Prizren, the road leads to the village of Musitiste. Four kilometers further up the hill, by foot or by tractor, one comes to the base of Sara, where at one time, during the fourteenth century in the reign of King Milutin, a monastery was built with a church devoted to the Holy Trinity. It is now a women's monastery. In it the prioress and four sisters preserve the "spirit of Orthodoxy," and take care of the monastery and its property. They work the monastery ground themselves and raise livestock. The income is small. Although the monastery is under the protection of the state, there is no assistance of any kind. It is even hard for them to buy corn, either from the Albanian peasants or the Serbian ones, because this is felt to be assisting the church, and they say that "the state would not allow it."

The livestock are frequently hungry, and the nuns themselves have a hard time coming by food. They are separated from the village, and they are too old to go down to the village shops every hour.

They have lived that way and been patient, and the Prizren bishop himself taught them that their place is to be patient and preserve the monastery. But recently, when the wave of irredentism began to swell, the villages began to attack them,

beat them, cut down their trees, and torment their livestock, just in order to drive them off this land.

Forbearance means less, they say, when we say it and when they hear it. But someone who puts up with an injustice, as is well known, through his forbearance itself, does a greater injustice to the community than the one who inflicts it.

It is probably for this reason that they agreed to speak, just in order to save the monastery.

"We Don't Have Any Rest From the Bullying"

They know what happened a year ago, when the monastery of St. Mark was burned down in the Prizren eparchy, and then before Easter this year [the same thing happened to] the Pec Patriarchate residence and library.

Bishop Pavle Rasko of Prizren was beaten before the demonstrations, and then beaten again a month ago. His arm was injured and now it is difficult for him to move it.

A professor at the seminary in Prizren, Archpriest Milutin Timotijevic, was also attacked, both before the demonstrations and again, recently.

People are letting their livestock out to graze on the monastery property, and when [the nuns] warn them, then they get a stick across the shoulders.

Thus, while the nuns were piling up a haystack, one of their neighbors from the village of Musitiste drove his sheep there. "He deliberately drove his livestock up the hill just in order to start a fight." When Sister Vera warned him, he came up and beat her around the head and shoulders with a stick. All bruised, she went to the clinic to be bandaged. Instead of helping her, they told her, "This isn't anything, it's a light injury."

Last year they blinded one of the nuns' bulls when they hit it in the eyes with a stick.

They put a piece of wood into a pregnant cow up to the uterus and killed the calf inside her. She lost the calf, and was left nearly dead herself.

A group of people simply came and began to beat the cattle in the middle of the monastery property.

The prioress says that they pierced their utters with nails.

Prioress Ilarija Sretenovic wrote to the militia commander at the Suva Reka station about how they were being mistreated by the "young toughs" from Grevovac:

"Last year we were injured, and you told us not to complain and that it would not happen again. But there is always something happening, today the sisters went out to see who was hitting our cattle. Every day something painful happens. Only one ox has survived, and now the calf is in a critical state. The sisters caught

them driving the cattle in a circle around the monastery meadow with sticks and stones. They are killing our cattle, and I hope they kill themselves. We do not have any rest from their bullying. I have been forced to inform the Bishop that they are driving us out of this monastery. It is impossible to endure the bullying. Please come to the monastery and find the criminals.

Respectfully yours, the monastery administration, Prioress Ilarija."

This was in the middle of July last year. Everything has remained as it was.

They are not allowing them to take water to water their fields.

Is There Any Law For These People?

They are cutting down their trees and taking away the wood.

The prioress protested again. In September 1981 she wrote to the militia station section in Musitiste:

"Please come right away to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity to establish the damage from the cut trees, which were cut down by Albanians from the village of Grazdel; I do not know what their names are..."

On 14 September I heard an ax up at the top of the monastery woods; I went out and I did not believe that they were cutting down trees in the monastery woods, but when I sent two sisters they found two young men and asked them what their names were, but they said that they were born in Djermanija and did not know Serbian...

They came at night and took away the wood that we had brought down from the woods.

Do people have any law for this violence? What am I to do? Who should I turn to? This has gone too far. I request protection. The whole summer they chased our cattle, and now they have gone after the monastery's wood. This is already the thirteenth theft. Please take measures; I know that you can if you only want to. I have gotten tired of submitting requests.

Respectfully yours, the prioress Ilarija, the head of the Holy Trinity Monastery."

Again nothing happened. The authorities seemed to be unable to find the people born in "Djermanija." They are continuing to do what they want, unpunished.

This year some young men tried to rape Sister Heruvima. Sister Heruvima is fifty years old.

But the prioress says that recently a guest of theirs from Zagreb was raped.

She came to tour the monastery, to see the old iconostasis and the old monastery books. One day she went down to the village to visit two Catholic sisters, former acquaintances of hers, who visited here once after returning from Italy and France.

When she was returning to the monastery, one of the sisters went to accompany the guest for a while. Just then three young men, Albanians, appeared and offered to go with her. She refused. But as soon as sister Marija left and the unfortunate woman started off by herself up to the monastery, one of them came out of the woods. It was terrible, needless to say. She was raped, robbed, and beaten.

An Epilogue To Be Remembered

A certain doctor, a black, who was practicing at the health station, examined this tormented fifty-year-old woman, and it was not difficult for him to give a certificate making a serious accusation. This was a practicing doctor from Uganda, Sirijaza, as the prioress remembers his name. And the young man who did this was from the neighboring village of Rekovac.

The epilogue is worthy of being remembered.

As soon as the unfortunate woman recovered, she returned to Zagreb, never to come here again; the doctor was quickly transferred; and the young man from Rekovac is going to school.

"I went to the militia," the prioress says, "and asked Asan how long this would go on. And he answered that this was not rape!"

Nevertheless her cross on a chain, torn from her neck, was returned...

And so story follows story.

Last year the previously closed church of Holy Salvation, down in the village of Musitiste, was assigned to the monastery's care. The Prizren bishop approved the construction of a pantry next to it so that the nuns would have a place to take shelter when coming from the road, and where they could leave food to take to the monastery.

They brought three tractors of sand and prepared to begin work. When they came in the morning, there was no more sand.

in place of the sand, someone had brought two truckloads of mud and poured it into the area fenced off for construction.

It was clear that no spike could be driven there any longer.

And So It Is Going On

The nuns brought charges and even paid a fee.

The mud remained in the place where a church chamber was supposed to be. And Sister Angelina, in August of this year, was beaten by some "big stick" because she had mentioned God and truth.

Sister Stanka was beaten when she warned some young men from the village that they had driven their livestock onto the monastery property. She lodged a complaint against them. Again nothing happened.

One day, when it had all become unbearable to them, the nuns drove their cattle down to Suva Reka to the veterinary station. On almost all of the cattle there were scars, healed or fresh ones.

The monastery brought court charges and finally received an order, to pay the court fee. This was all. And the villagers across whose pastures the cattle had passed complained that the monastery's cattle had grazed on their grass, and demanded damages.

And so it is going on...

Down to the village, children throw stones at them when they go by. The road between the houses is narrow, and the walls are high, "so that you do not know who is throwing them down."

Bishop Pavle tells them to be silent and endure. He wants them to remain here and not abandon the monastery.

Two of the nuns who were beaten have already left the monastery. Sister Vera went to the Holy Virgin monastery in Djunis, and Angelina went to the Vavedenje monastery in Ovcar Banji.

Now that they are there they are praying for the health of those left at the foot of the Sar mountain to preserve the monastery built back in the fourteenth century, a great cultural treasure of a people.

But during this time the Serbian Orthodox Church is keeping silent; in spite of everything, it is preaching patience.

Many people have attacked these areas in the course of time, but the monasteries were spared. Are they really going to perish today?

One More Story

The goal of every trip is the return.

From the monastery we were supposed to go down to the village of Musitiste, and then to the Holy Salvation church, on the way out of the village. The rain and the fog seemed to cover the woods, the houses, and the road. And there are several roads, and it is difficult to distinguish them.

We knocked on the door of the first house we came across.

When the door opened, an Albanian, thirty years old, appeared. We asked him to show us the road to the church. He was wearing pants and a shirt. He threw on a coat right away and went to show us the road. He got soaked and wet to the skin. He did not even ask who or what we were. We suggested that he return, but he continued on with us a good part of the way, until the church came into view.

Afterwards, when we were returning to Belgrade, there were no road signs anywhere. We spoke Serbian, and we went with a monk in a priest's mantle, but nevertheless all of the people we met were courteous and showed us the road--and they were Albanians.

This was fortunate for all of us--unfortunate for irredentism.

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